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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

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SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEM 8 AT FOR-
EIGN MINISTERS MEETING -- U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN
RELATIONS

1. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION OF ITEM 8
U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS, AT THE MFM IN MEXICO CITY.
THESE REMARKS WERE TRANSCRIBED BY U.S. REPRESENTATIVES
PRESENT AT THE MEETING, BUT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN CLEARED AND
ARE NOT OFFICIAL. IT IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR BACKGROUND USE.

2. FONMIN RABASA (MEXICO): EACH FOREIGN MINISTER MAY FEEL
FREE TO EXPRESS HIS OWN VIEWS.

3. FONMIN RAMPHAL (GUYANA): THE FIRST REQUIREMENT FOR A
DIALOGUE SHOULD BE FRANK ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF CONTEMPORARY
REALITIES. THE ESSENTIAL REALITY TODAY IS CHANGE. THERE
HAVE BEEN A SERIES OF CHANGES WITHIN LATIN AMERICA ITSELF.
THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATIONS HAVE JOINED WITH LATIN AMERICA
AND ARE READY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMUNITY. THERE HAVE
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BEEN GREAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES AS WELL. LATIN

AMERICA IS LOOKING BEYOND HER OWN HORIZON -- TO SUCH GROUPS AS UNCTAD, GROUP OF 77, ETC.

4. THE U.S. HAS ALSO CHANGED OVER THE DECADES TO A ROLE OF INVOLVEMENT WHICH IS BOTH GOOD AND BAD. THERE HAVE ALSO

BEEN CHANGES IN PRIORITIES. HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS NO LONGER NEED TO BE THE DOMINANT NOR THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR LATIN AMERICA.

5. MOVING AWAY FROM THE GEO-POLITICAL CONCEPT TO RELATIONSHIPS DETERMINED BY ECONOMIC REALITIES THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AS A GEO-POLITICAL UNIT IS, PERHAPS NO LONGER VALID IN THE WORLD OF THE SEVENTIES. AND WHAT ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF CUBA AND CANADA TO THE REST OF OUR HEMISPHER?

6. THE IMBALANCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA IS ALSO A CONSTRAINT. WE CANNOT HAVE RECIPROCITY BETWEEN A SUPERPOWER AND LESSER POWERS AND STILL HAVE QUITY. UNITY AMONG UNEQUAL INVOLVES HEGEMONY. WE MUST APPROACH IDEA OF COMMUNITY WITH RESERVE. LET US BE CAREFUL.

7. WE SHOULD NOT NEGLECT ELEMENTS WHICH DRAW US TOGETHER. WE MUST LOOK FORWARD TO DIALOGUE AND WORK TOWARD COMMON GOALS. LATIN AMERICA CAN SERVE TO BUILD BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING TO THE EMERGING NATIONS OF AFRICA AND ASIA. WE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND LATIN AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION.

8. FONMIN BORGONOVO (EL SALVADOR): THIS MEETING IS VERY SUCCESSFUL. HOWEVER, WHAT DOES THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH EXPECT FROM THE "COMMUNITY?" I ASK SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR A PRELIMINARY ANSWER. WE SHOULD ALSO EXAMINE WHAT IS THE ROLE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA.

9. FONMIN BLANCO (URUGUAY): THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY IS ATTRACTIVE, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO INCLUDE IT IN THE DECLARATION. INTERDEPENDENCY EXISTS -- HOW WE DEAL WITH IT IS IMPORTANT. COMMUNITY CAN BE BROUGHT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FRUITION THROUGH A LONGER DIALOGUE. WE MUST ESTABLISH BASIC ECONOMIC RULES. WE DO NOT HAVE TO INSIST ON THE WORD "COMMUNITY," BUT A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP IS PRESENT.

9. MINISTER THOMPSON (JAMAICA): I ASSOCIATE MYSELF FULLY WITH MY COLLEAGUE FROM GUYANA.

10. FONMIN BARBOZA (BRAZIL): THERE IS A THEORY THAT THERE

ARE A LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND A SEPARATE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY. THIS MAY BE SOCIOLOGICALLY CORRECT, BUT IT IS ECONOMICALLY INAPPROPRIATE. SECRETARY KISSINGER

TALKED ABOUT A POLITICAL COMMUNITY. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE MORE CLARAFICATION.

11. FONMIN HUERTA (CHILE): WE HAVE ACHIEVED UNITY AND DIRECTION. IN THE CHOICE BETWEEN ISOLATION AND COLLABORATION WE HAVE CHOSEN THE LATTER. WE SHOULD FOLLOW THIS CONFERENCE WITH INSTITUTIONALIZED MEETINGS.

12. FONMIN VASQUEZ (COLOMBIA): THERE IS NO LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. THIS MEETING IS GOOD BECAUSE WE HAVE A DIALOGUE AND INSTEAD OF SPEECHES. THE OAS HAS NOT REFLECTED CHANGES IN THE HEMISPHERE. AS DETENTE PROGRESS, THE OPPOSITION TO CUBA HAS WEAKENED. WE MUST ALSO INCLUDE CANADA. THE IDEA OF A COMMUNITY IS WORTHY. IMPLICIT, HOWEVER, IS THE IDEA OF A GUIDING POLITICAL PRINCIPLE FOR HEMISPHERIC BEHAVIOR. THERE MUST BE A CONTINUAL REVIEW, AND LATIN AMERICA SHOULD COOPERATE WITH OTHER AREAS -- THE EEC AND JAPAN. I AGREE WITH FONMIN RAMPHAL, BUT WE MUST FACE UP TO THE POWER OF THE U.S. AND NEGOTIATE AND DIALOGUE ACCORDINGLY.

13. FONMIN DE LA FLOR (PERU): THIS MEETING IS WORTHWHILE. HOWEVER THERE ARE TWO RELATIONSHIPS: INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND INTRA-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THE IMBALANCE IN THE FIRST RELATIONSHIP CREATES A NEED FOR PEACEFUL COOPERATION. THE COOPERATIVE SPIRIT OF THIS CONFERENCE GIVES US HOPE. BUT ALL NATIONS INCLUDING CUBA SHOULD BE REPRESENTED. LATIN AMERICAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO EXPRESS HER VIEWS ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS. WE MUST RESPECT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALL NATIONS REGARDLESS OF THEIR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS. WE MUST SEEK INTEGRATION WITHOUT HEGEMONY. THERE IS A NEED TO COMPLY WITH RESOLUTION 170 OF IA-ECOSOC IN ITS ENTIRETY. ECONOMIC RESOURCES MUST FURTHER LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT. RESOURCES SHOULD NOT BE USED FOR ARMS PURCHASES.

14. FONMIN SAPENA (PARAGUAY): HOW CAN THE LDC'S DEVELOP PROPER RELATIONSHIP WITH A SUPER-POWER? WE SHOULD EQUALIZE DIFFERENCES THROUGH DEVELOPMENT. COMMUNITY SHOULD BE OUR GOAL, BUT IT WILL TAKE A LONG TIME TO ACHIEVE. THE RICH CANNOT LIVE HAPPILY ALONG SIDE OF THE POOR.

15. FONMIN CALVANI (VENEZUELA): WHAT DOES SECRETARY

KISSINGER MEAN BY COMMUNITY? WE MUST DEFINE WHAT IS MEANT TO ENSURE THAT WE ARE SPEAKING THE SAME LANGUAGE. IF A COMMUNITY DOES EXIST, IS THERE A MORE SPECIFIC TERM WE CAN USE? WHAT ABOUT CUBA AND CANADA? WHAT HAPPENS TO THE OAS? WHAT ABOUT THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY? WE NEED AN EXCLUSIVE DEFINITION.

16. THOMPSON (JAMAICA): CUBA HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY INDIRECTLY, I WISH TO RAISE IT ALSO. WE CAN CONFRONT THE ISSUE DIRECTLY. SILENCE IS STUPIDITY. I INVITE THE U.S. TO FILL THE VOID ON CUBA.

17. FONMIN RAYMOND (HAITI): THIS DIALOGUE MARKS A TURNING POINT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION MUST CONTINUE.

18. FONMIN FACIO (COSTA RICA): DECLINED TO COMMENT.

19. FONMINRABASA (MEXICO): MEXICO HAS HELD BILATERAL TALKS WITH CANADA. MEXICO HOPES YOU ALL WILL ENCOURAGE CANADA TO JOIN IN THE HEMISPHERIC RELATIONSHIP.

20. SUBSEQUENTLY, SECRETARY KISSINGER RESPONDED TO THE FONMINS. THERE FOLLOWS AN UNCLEARED TEXT OF HIS REMARKS:

21. THE REMARKS OF THE PRECEDING SPEAKERS REFLECT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY TAKE THE TASK TO WHICH WE HAVE SET OURSELVES. THE CONSENSUS THAT SEEMS TO HAVE EMERGED OUT OF THESE REMARKS IS THAT ALL AGREE AS I DO THAT THIS DIALOGUE HAS BEEN EXTREMELY USEFUL AND COULD, IF WE FOLLOW IT UP IN THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN CONDUCTED, MARK A NEW ERA IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. IT HAS ALSO BECOME CLEAR TO ME THAT THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONCERN ABOUT A WORD I INTRODUCED INTO MY SPEECH OF A WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY. AS I WILL INDICATE IN A FEW MINUTES, WE SHOULD NOT SPEND AN EXCESSIVE AMOUNT OF TIME ON THE WORD "COMMUNITY" BUT SINCE IT REFLECTED A SERIOUS INTENTION AND SINCE SERIOUS QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ASKED WITH RESPECT TO IT, LET ME EXPLAIN WHAT WE HAD IN MIND.

22. THE DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER OF VENEZUELA ASKED IF IT IS A NEW CONCEPT REFLECTING A NEW REALITY OR WHETHER IT EXPRESSES A FORMER REALITY IN NEW TERMS OR EXACTLY HOW WE SHOULD DEFINE IT, ALL OF WHICH IMPLIES THAT WE ARE

SEEKING A JURIDICAL EXPRESSION FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP THAT CAN BE THEN EXPRESSED IN LEGAL OBLIGATIONS WHICH WE IN TURN OR OTHERS MAY USE AS A BASIS OF CLAIMS. THIS WAS

NOT OUR INTENTION.

23. FOR AS LONG AS I HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH GOVERNMENT, MY FRIENDS FROM LATIN AMERICA HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT THE NEGLECT OF THEM BY THE UNITED STATES AND FOR AS LONG AS I HAVE BEEN IN GOVERNMENT MY FRIENDS FROM LATIN AMERICA HAVE TOLD ME THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD SOME SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARD LATIN AMERICA. IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT WE ARE UNITED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES. IT IS OBVIOUSLY A FACT THAT WE ARE HERE. WHY IS THIS GROUP OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TOGETHER? WHAT TERM SHALL BE GIVEN TO REALITY OF INSTITUTIONAL LINKS THAT HAVE GROWN UP OVER THE DECADES OF SAD HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES AND OF COMMON CONCERNS IS NOT A MATTER OF PROFOUND IMPORTANCE O ME.

24. WHAT IS OF IMPORTANCE FOR ALL OF US IN THIS ROOM IS TO BE CLEAR IN OUR MINDS WHETHER WE DO HAVE A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, WHATEVER NOUN WE GIVE IT OR WHETHER WE DO NOT HAVE SUCH A RELATIONSHIP. WE CANNOT BOTH CLAIM SPECIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONCERNS AND NO SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. THAT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUSTAIN OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

25. I MUST SAY MANY VERY PROFOUND THINGS HAVE BEEN SAID AND I WAS VERY MUCH IMPRESSED AND MOVED BY THE COMMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF GUYANA, AND I AM PROUD TO NOTE THAT THE DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER OF BRAZIL HAS ASSIGNED HIM TO OUR SPHERE, AND I GLADLY CLAIM HIM. I MUST SAY I WOULD RATHER HAVE HIM ON MY SIDE THAN AGAINST ME.

26. NOW LET ME MAKE A FEW PHILOSOPHIC OBSERVATIONS, NOT RELATED TO THE WORD "COMMUNITY" BUT TO THE REALITY OF OUR PRESENCE HERE. IT WAS SAID THAT THE QUEST FOR UNITY SOMETIMES HIDES THE ASPIRATION FOR HEGEMONY AND THAT COMMUNITY CAN EASILY LEAD TO DOMINION. THAT IS TRUE, AND THERE ARE HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS FOR THIS, BUT IF IT IS TRUE THAT WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF INTERDEPENDENCE I THINK ONE SHOULD NOT STATE THE OPPOSITION IN ABSOLUTE TERMS. ON

SOME ISSUES COMMUNITY EXISTS THROUGH THE FACTS OF LIFE, AND ON SOME ISSUES INDEPENDENCE EXISTS AS A FACT OF LIFE. THE PROBLEM REALLY OF PRACTICAL FOREIGN POLICY IS HOW TO RECONCILE THESE TWO CONCERNS; BUT I WANT TO MAKE A MORE FUNDAMENTAL POINT. THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT I WANT TO MAKE HAS TO DO WITH THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT IS REALLY TRUE AS ARISTOTLE SAID THAT BETWEEN UNEQUALS THERE CAN BE NO RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP. I THINK WE MUST FIRST OF ALL DISTINGUISH RECIPROCITY AND EQUIVALENCE, AND WE MUST DE-

FINE MORE PRECISELY WHAT WE MEAN BY EQUALITY. WHEN WE TALK OF RECIPROCITY IN THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, WE DO NOT MEAN THAT WE MUST GET AN EQUIVALENT QUID PRO QUO FOR EVERYTHING WE DO. IT DOES MEAN THAT WE BELIEVE A HEALTHY RELATIONSHIP REQUIRES SOME COMMITMENT ON THE OTHER PARTY. I THINK IT IS THE ONLY BASIS FOR A DIGNIFIED RELATIONSHIP. CLEARLY, SERIOUS RECIPROCITY, PARADOXICALLY, IN RELATIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MUST INVOLVE A DIFFERENTIAL IN FAVOR OF THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, BUT IT CANNOT INVOLVE AN ABSENCE FROM ANY RESPONSIBILITY BY THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

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27. LET ME TURN TO THE QUESTION OF EQUALITY. WE LIVE IN A VERY NOVEL HISTORICAL PERIOD. THROUGHOUT HISTORY ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND POLITICAL POWER WERE ROUGHLY COMMENSURABLE TO EACH OTHER. IT ALMOST NEVER HAPPENED THAT A NATION WAS ECONOMICALLY STRONG AND MILITARILY WEAK. IT NEVER HAPPENED THAT A NATION WAS POLITICALLY STRONG AND MILITARILY IMPOTENT. TODAY THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF POWER HAVE BECOME INCOMMENSURABLE WITH EACH OTHER. YOU CAN HAVE NATIONS THAT ARE ECONOMIC GIANTS, LIKE JAPAN, THAT ARE MILITARY PIGMIES. YOU CAN HAVE NATIONS THAT ARE MILITARY GIANTS THAT CANNOT GIVE POLITICAL EFFECT TO THEIR DIPLOMACY, SPEAKING JERE TO FRIENDS, THAT NATIONS OF A FEW MILLION, LIKE SOME OF THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES, COULD CHANGE THE STYLE OF LIFE OF NATIONS OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS BY A UNILATERAL DECISION. IT COULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED AT ANY OTHER PERIOD OF HISTORY. IT IS HAPPENING NOW.

28. NOW, THEREFORE, WHEN ONE SPEAKS OF EQUALITY ONE MUST NOT SIMPLY MEASURE MILITARY POWER; ONE HAS TO LOOK ALSO AT ECONOMIC POWER, MORAL POWER AND POLITICAL POWER. ANOTHER ASPECT OF FOREIGN POLICY AT THIS MOMENT IS THE DECISIVE ROLE FOR MANY SOCIETIES OF PUBLIC OPINION. I

THINK IT IS FAIR TO ANY THAT A POLICY THAT CANNOT BE ENDORSED BY THE PUBLIC OVER A PERIOD OF TIME CAN HAVE NO LONG RANGE REALITY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH POWER THERE IS BEHIND IT.

29. FRANKLY, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE WORD "COMMUNITY" CREATES DOMESTIC PROBLEMS FOR MANY IN THIS ROOM IN THE SENSE THAT IF THEY SIGN A DOCUMENT THAT HAS THE WORD "COMMUNITY" IN IT, THEY MUST THEN ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS THAT THE DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN MINISTER OF VENEZUELA HAS RAISED AND OTHERS HAVE RAISED AROUND THIS TABLE. THEREFORE, IT IS FAIR THAT THEY SHOULD ASK US

WHAT WE MEAN BY IT. BUT WHAT WE MEAN BY IT IS NOT A
LEGAL CONCEPT NOR IS IT A CONCEPT THAT WE CAN USE FOR
HEGEMONY OR DOMINION. THIS CONCERN ABOUT HEGEMONY IS
NOT NEW TO US. WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED IT IN OUR DISCUSSIONS
WITH OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS, WHO IN PHYSICAL TERMS ARE
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MUCH STRONGER THAN SOME OF THE NATIONS ASSEMBLED HERE.
I HAVE ALWAYS POINTED OUT, AS I WILL POINT OUT TO YOU,
THAT IN THE PRESENT PERIOD ONE DOES NOT ACHIEVE HEGEMONY
BY SIGNING A DOCUMENT. SUPPOSING WE ALL SIGN A DOCUMENT
HERE WITH THE WORD "COMMUNITY" AND NEXT YEAR SOME OF YOU
GO OFF TO A CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS AND SIGN THE DECLARA-
TIONS THAT ARE FORESEEABLE. WILL THE UNITED STATES BE
ABLE TO WAIVE THE DECLARATION OF MEXICO AT YOU AND SAY
YOU HAVE DONE SOMETHING ILLEGAL? THE REALITY IS THAT EITHER
WE CAN CRAFT A SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY OR WE CAN'T. IF
WE CAN WE DON'T NEED THE DOCUMENT AND IF WE CAN'T THE
DOCUMENT WON'T HELP US.

30. HEGEMONY IN THIS PERIOD IS NOT ACHIEVED BY TREATIES
OR BY DOCUMENTS BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE TO GIVE
SOME MORAL CONTENT TO WHAT WE HAVE DONE HERE. WE HAVE
TO ANSWER THE QUESTION, WHY ARE WE HERE? THE GREAT DANGER
OF HEGEMONY IN THE WORLD RIGHT NOW, IF I MAY SAY SO, IS
NOT DOCUMENTS WE ASK ANYONE TO SIGN -- THE GREAT DANGER
OF HEGEMONY IS THE METHODS THAT HAVE BEEN USED IN
THE FOREIGN POLICY FIELD. TO PUT IT CRUDELY, IF EVERY
NATION FLOATS ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY AND WORKS WITH-
OUT RESTRAINTS OR TREATIES AND OBLIGATIONS, AND INSISTS
THAT ITS SPECIFIC WEIGHT MUST CARRY THE DAY, THEN YOU
HAVE THE REAL DANGER OF HEGEMONY. THE GREAT TEMPTATION FOR
THE SUPER POWERS AT THIS MOMENT, IN MY JUDGMENT, IS NOT
WHETHER THEY CAN GET A FEW MORE DECLARATIONS SIGNED -- THE
GREAT TEMPTATION IS TO OPERATE UNILATERALLY -- SO I AM
HERE NOT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A COMMITMENT BY MY COLLEAGUES

TO SUPPORT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. SUCH A COMMITMENT
WOULD BE UNENFORCEABLE AND OPERATIONALLY NOT USEFUL.
MY PURPOSE IS TO SEE WHETHER THIS HEMISPHERE WITH ITS
TRADITION OF COUNTRIES WORKING TOGETHER CAN CONTRIBUTE
TO A STRUCTURE OF RESTRAINT IN THE WORLD ACHIEVED IN
SOME NORM OF CONSULTATION. WHEN I PUT THE INTERNATIONAL
ITEM ON THE AGENDA, AND THE ENERGY ITEM, IT WAS NOT TO
GET THE SUPPORT OF THIS GROUP FOR OUR POSITION, IT WAS TO
SYMBOLIZE TO THIS GROUP THAT WE WERE SERIOUS ABOUT CON-
SULTATIONS AND THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO SHARE OUR SUPER-
POWER KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT PARTICULAR COMMITMENT FROM OUR
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COLLEAGUES HERE. WE HAVE TO FIND SOME SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION. WE HAVE BROUGHT HERE A SENIOR DELEGATION FROM OUR CONGRESS AS A TOKEN OF OUR DETERMINATION TO GIVE CONCRETE EFFECT TO WHAT WE AGREE -- BUT THE REALITY FOR US IS THAT, WHEN YOU LIST THE ITEMS THAT WE HAVE DISCUSSED, TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, INVESTMENT DISPUTES, PANAMA CANAL, SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE -- NONE OF THEM HAS A GREAT SYMBOLIC MEANING IN THE UNITED STATES, AS ALL OF YOUR AMBASSADORS ACCREDITED IN WASHINGTON WILL TELL YOU. WE DON'T WANT SIMPLY TO SIGN A DECLARATION WHICH SIX MONTHS LATER, NO ONE CAN POSSIBLY REMEMBER. WE SHOULD DO IT IN A WAY OR IN THE NAME OF SOMETHING THAT GIVES CONTINUITY TO IT. THAT WAS THE INTENTION BEHIND USING THE WORD "COMMUNITY."

31. IT IS THE WISH OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION THAT WE END THIS CONFERENCE IN THE SPIRIT THAT WE ARE BEGINNING A PROCESS AND THAT WHAT WE AGREED TO, WILL REALLY HAPPEN. SO THIS WAS THE REASONING BEHIND THE WORD "COMMUNITY."

32. HAVING SAID THIS I MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT WE CAN PROMOTE IN A DOCUMENT. IT EITHER EXISTS OR IT DOESN'T EXIST. THEREFORE, IN THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN MEETING HERE I WITHDRAW THE WORD "COMMUNITY" AND I WILL INSTRUCT MY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE TO REMOVE IT.

33. ON THE OTHER HAND, I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO GIVE SOME MORAL CONTENT TO OUR MEETING HERE AND TO END IT WITH SOMETHING OTHER THAN A FACT FINDING BODY FOR INVESTMENT DISPUTES. THE NEW DIALOGUE MUST HAVE BEEN ABOUT

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SOMETHING NEW WHICH WAS STARTED HERE, HAS TO BE MORE THAN THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY. WHAT THAT WORD IS, WHAT THE DIRECTION IS, I AM OPEN MINDED ABOUT AND I WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES USE THEIR INGENUITY TO COME UP WITH SOME PHRASEOLOGY THAT IS APPROPRIATE TO THE OCCASION. I THINK SOMEWHERE IN THE DOCUMENT WE OUGHT TO MENTION THAT WE TALKED IN A SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY, BUT NOT AS AN EXISTING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONAL TERM. MY MAJOR CONCERN IS NOT TO JUSTIFY A DRAFT-

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ING EXERCISE -- I HAVE BEEN AT ENOUGH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES TO KNOW THAT THE LAST NIGHT ONE SPENDS ALL ONE'S ENERGY PRODUCING A DOCUMENT, THE CONTENT OF WHICH

THREE MONTHS AFTERWARDS ONE DOESN'T REMEMBER. THE MOST
IMPORTANT THING WE HAVE TO DO HERE IS TO SEE WHETHER WE
CAN CREATE A LIVING REALITY AND THAT HAS TO BE MORE THAN
THE TECHNICAL ISSUES WE DISCUSSED -- BUT WHAT IT IS
PRECISELY I LEAVE TO MY COLLEAGUES TO DISCUSS IN CONSUL-
TATION WITH US IN THE TIME THAT REMAINS.

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